

# HORRORS OF SLAVERY.

IN TWO PARTS.

## PART I.

Containing Observations, Facts, and Arguments, extracted from the speeches of WILBERFORCE, GRENVILLE, PITT, BURKE, FOX, MARTIN, WHITBREAD, and other distinguished members of the British Parliament.

## PART II.

Containing extracts, chiefly American, compiled from authentic sources; demonstrating that SLAVERY is *impolitic*, *antirepublican*, *unchristian*, and *highly criminal*; and proposing measures for its complete abolition through the United States.

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CAMBRIDGE:

PRINTED BY HILLIARD AND METCALF.

1817.

Sold by CUMMINGS & HILLIARD, No. 1, and LINCOLN & EDMANDS,  
No. 53, Cornhill, Boston.—Price 20 cents.

A copy of this work was placed by the author on the desk of every member of Congress when it was published.

res. 4265.59 no. 3

## INTRODUCTION.

**T**HAT *all men are born equally free and independent*, is a principle which was assumed by the people of this country, in their contest for liberty and the rights of man. In defence of this and other principles of natural right and justice, or in resistance of what they deemed violations of their rights, the whole people of these States have thought themselves justified in appealing to arms, and in exposing their lives and property in two bloody and desolating wars.

Now if the evidence of the fact were not too palpable to be overlooked or denied, would it not be thought incredible, that a people, so jealous of their natural rights, could hold in the most absolute and degrading servitude, under a *free government*, a *million* of fellow beings, who have by nature, reason and justice, as fair a claim to liberty as themselves? Could it be supposed that a people, thus jealous of their *own* rights, would treat their brethren of a different colour as *property*, to be bought and sold like oxen and horses! Yet such is the inconsistency of the white inhabitants of the United States—a people too who call themselves **CHRISTIANS**!

To invite attention to this melancholy subject, and to excite sympathy for the suffering, is the object of this publication. The compiler firmly believes that his countrymen stand exposed to the righteous rebukes of Providence for this glaring inconsistency and inhumanity; that whether they shall be tried at the bar of *reason*, the bar of *conscience*, or the bar of *God*, they may justly be condemned out of their own mouths; and that all their *arguments*, and all their *fightings* for liberty, may be produced as evidence, that, as a people, they do unto others as they would *not* that others should do unto them.

The work which now solicits the attention of the public is principally composed of extracts from the speeches and writings of eminent men. The subject of the *slave-trade*, with its concomitants and consequences, gave opportunity for the display of the most impressive eloquence. It called forth the energies and exertions of men, whose names will long be registered among the **BENEFACtors** of mankind. Such is the character of the extracts, that the orator, the philosopher, the philanthropist and the christian, may all peruse them with profit and with pleasure. And it is devoutly to be hoped, that while each one shall find something instructive, and adapted to his own taste, each may imbibe a deep feeling, a tender sympathy, for the suffering and degraded sons of Africa, who are groaning under bondage in a land of boasted freedom,—nay, groaning under oppression from the hands of men who would probably involve a whole nation in war and bloodshed—or even *set the world on fire* rather than submit to a *fiftieth* part of the violation of natural rights, which they inflict on the African race.

#### THE COMPILER.

*Newton, May 5, 1817.*

# HORRORS OF SLAVERY.

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## PART I.

PARLIAMENTARY SPEECHES, EXTRACTED FROM CLARKSON'S HISTORY OF THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE.\*

MR. WILBERFORCE said, "It was ridiculous to say that men would be bound by their interest, when gain or ardent passion urged them. It might as well be asserted that a stone could not be thrown into the air, or a body move from place to place, because the principles of gravitation bound them to the surface of the earth. If a planter—found himself reduced in his profits, he did not usually dispose of any part of his slaves; and his own gratifications were never given up, so long as there was a possibility of making any retrenchment in the allowance of his slaves." *Hist. Abol.* p. 46.

"Europe, three or four centuries ago, was in many parts as barbarous as Africa is at present, and chargeable with as bad practices. For, what would be said, if so late as the middle of the thirteenth century, he could find a parallel there for the slave trade? Yes. This parallel was to be found even in England. The people of Bristol, in the reign of Henry VII, had a regular market for children, which were bought by the Irish: but the latter having experienced a general calamity, which they imputed as a judgment from heaven, on account of this wicked traffic, abolished it. The only thing, therefore,

\* All the references are to pages of vol. ii.

which he had to solicit of the house, was to shew that they were now as enlightened as the Irish were four centuries back, by refusing to buy the children of other nations." p. 53.

"He wished to treat the West Indians with all possible candour; but he was obliged to confess, in arguing upon these points, that whatever splendid instances there might be of kindness towards their slaves, there were some evils of almost universal operation, which were necessarily connected with the system of slavery. Above all, the state of degradation, to which they were reduced, deserved to be noticed; as it produced an utter inattention to them as moral agents. They were kept to work under the whip like cattle. They were left totally ignorant of morality and religion. There was no regular marriage among them. Hence promiscuous intercourse, early prostitutions, and excessive drinking, were material causes of their decrease." p. 183.

'Mr. Ross conceived a master had a right to punish his slave in whatever manner he might think proper.' The same was declared by numberless other witnesses. Some instances indeed had lately occurred of convictions. A master had wantonly cut the mouth of a child, of six months old, almost from ear to ear. But did not the verdict of the jury show, that the doctrine of calling masters to an account was entirely novel; as it only pronounced him 'Guilty, subject to the opinion of the court, if immoderate correction of a slave by his master be indictable?' The court determined in the affirmative; and what was the punishment of this barbarous act? A fine of forty shillings currency, equivalent to about twenty five shillings sterling. It was in evidence, that they were in general underfed. They were supported, partly by the produce of their own provision-ground, and partly by an allowance of flour and grain from their masters. In one of the islands, where provision-ground did not answer one year in three, the allowance to a working negro was but from five to nine pints of grain per week: in Dominica, where it never failed, from six to seven quarts: in Nevis and St. Christophers, where there was no provision-ground, it was but eleven pints.

Add to this that it might be still less, as the circumstances of their masters might become embarrassed ; and in this case both an abridgment of their food, and an increase of their labour, would follow. “ But the great cause of the decrease of the slaves was in the nonresidence of the planters.—The fact was, that these [the managers] sought to establish their characters by producing large crops at a small immediate expense ; too little, considering how far the slaves might suffer from ill treatment and excessive labour. The pursuit of such a system was a criterion for judging of their characters, as both Mr. Long and Mr. Otley had confessed, pp. 185 and 186. But he hoped the committee would attend to the latter part of the assertion of Captain Smith. Yes : this trade, while it injured the constitutions of our sailors, debased their morals. Of this indeed, there was a barbarous illustration in the evidence. A slave-ship had struck on some shoals, called the Morant Keys, a few leagues from the east end of Jamaica. The crew landed in their boats, with arms and provisions, leaving the slaves on board in their irons. This happened in the night. When morning came, it was discovered that the Negroes had broken their shackles, and were busy in making rafts ; upon which afterwards they had placed their women and children. The men attended upon the latter, swimming by their side, whilst they drifted to the island where the crew were. But what was the sequel ? From an apprehension that the Negroes would consume the water and provision, which had been landed, the crew resolved to destroy them as they approached the shore. They killed between three and four hundred. Out of the whole cargo only thirty three were saved, who, on being brought to Kingston, were sold. pp. 194, 195.

In answer to a suggestion of regulating the treatment of slaves by law, he asked, How could any laws made by—legislatures, be effectual, whilst the evidence of Negroes was in no case admitted against white men ? What was the answer of Granada ? Did it not state, ‘ that they, who were capable of cruelty, would in general be artful enough to prevent any but slaves being witnesses of the fact ? Hence it had arisen, that when positive laws had been

made, in some of the islands, for the protection of the slaves, they had been found almost a dead letter. Besides, by what law would you enter into every man's domestic concerns, and regulate the interior economy of his house and plantation? This would be something more than a general excise. Who would endure such a law? And yet on all these and innumerable other minutiae must depend the protection of the slaves, their comforts, and the probability of their increase.—The provisions of the Directorio had been but of little more avail in the Portuguese settlements, or the institution of a protector of the Indians, in those of the Spaniards. But what degree of protection the slaves would enjoy might be inferred from the admission of a gentleman, by whom this very plan of regulation had been recommended, and who was himself no ordinary person, but a man of discernment and legal resources. He had proposed a limitation of the number of lashes to be given by the master or overseer for one offence. But, after all, he candidly confessed, that his proposal was not likely to be useful, while the evidence of slaves continued inadmissible against their masters. But he could even bring testimony to the inefficacy of such regulations. A wretch in Barbadoes had chained a Negro girl to the floor, and flogged her till she was nearly expiring. Captain Cook and Major Fitch, hearing her cries, broke open the door, and found her. The wretch retreated from their resentment, but cried out exultingly, "that he had only given her thirty nine lashes (the number limited by law) at any one time; and that he had only inflicted this number three times since the beginning of the night," adding that he would prosecute them for breaking open his door; and that he would flog her to death for all any one, if he pleased; and that he would give her the fourth thirty nine before morning. pp. 197-8-9.

"For his own part, he declared that, interested as he might be supposed to be in the final event of the question, he was comparatively indifferent as to the present decision of the house upon it. Whatever they might do, the people of Great Britain, he was confident, would abolish the slave trade, when, as would then soon happen, its in-

justice and cruelty should be fairly laid before them. It was a nest of serpents, which would never have existed so long, but for the darkness in which they lay hid. The light of day would be now let in upon them, and they would vanish from the sight. For himself, he declared he was engaged in a work, which he would never abandon. The consciousness of the justice of his cause would carry him forward, though he were alone. Let us not, he said, despair. It is a blessed cause; and success, ere long, will crown our exertions. Already we have gained one victory. We have obtained for these poor creatures the recognition of their human nature,\* which for a while was most shamefully denied them. This is the first fruits of our efforts. Let us persevere, and our triumph will be complete. Never, never, will we desist, till we have wiped away this scandal from the Christian name; till we have released ourselves from the load of guilt under which we at present labour; and till we have extinguished every trace of this bloody traffic, which our posterity, looking back to the history of these enlightened times, will scarcely believe had been suffered to exist so long, a disgrace and a dishonor to our country." pp. 203-4.

### *Second Attempt.*

On the second of April, 1792. Mr. Wilberforce moved the order of the day; which having been agreed to,—He then began by soliciting the candid attention of the West Indians to what he was going to deliver to the house. However others might have censured them indiscriminately, he had always himself made a distinction between them and their system. It was the latter only, which he reprobated. If Aristocracy had been thought a worse form of government than monarchy, because the people had many tyrants instead of one, how objectionable must be that form of it, which existed in our colonies! Arbitrary power could be bought there by any one, who could buy a slave. The fierceness of it was doubtless restrained by

\* This point was actually obtained by the evidence before the House of Commons; for, after this, we heard no more of them as an inferior race.

an elevation of mind in many, as arising from a consciousness of superior rank and consequence: but alas! it was too often exercised there by the base and vulgar. As for the cure of this monstrous evil, he had shown last year, that internal regulations would not produce it. These could have no effect, while the evidence of slaves was inadmissible. What would be the situation of the bulk of the people of this country, if only gentlemen of five hundred a year were admitted as evidences in our courts of law? Neither was the cure of it in the emancipation of the slaves. He did not deny that he wished them this latter blessing.

He would now say a few words relative to the Middle Passage, principally to show, that regulations could not effect a cure of the evil there. Mr. Isaac Wilson had stated in his evidence, that the ship, in which he sailed, only three years ago, was of three hundred and seventy tons; and that she carried six hundred and two slaves. Of these she lost one hundred and fifty five. There were three or four other vessels in company with her, and which belonged to the same owners. One of these carried four hundred and fifty, and buried two hundred; another carried four hundred and sixty six, and buried seventy three; another five hundred and forty six, and buried one hundred and fifty eight; and from the four together, after the landing of their cargoes, two hundred and twenty died. He fell in with another vessel, which had lost three hundred and sixty two; but the number which had been bought, was not specified. Now if to these actual deaths, during and immediately after the voyage, we were to add the subsequent loss in the seasoning, and to consider that this would be greater than ordinary in cargoes which were landed in such a sickly state, we should find a mortality, which if it were only general for a few months would entirely depopulate the globe.

"He would advert to what Mr. Wilson said, when examined, as a surgeon, as to the causes of these losses, and particularly on board his own ship where he had the means of ascertaining them. The substance of his reply was this: that most of the slaves laboured under a fixed mel-

ancholy, which now and then broke out into lamentations and plaintive songs, expressive of the loss of their relations, friends, and country. So powerful did this sorrow operate, that many of them attempted in various ways to destroy themselves, and three actually effected it. Others obstinately refused to take sustenance ; and when the whip and other violent means were used to compel them to eat, they looked up in the face of the officer, who unwillingly executed this painful task, and said with a smile, in their own language, “presently we shall be no more.” This, their unhappy state of mind, produced a general languor and debility, which were increased in many instances by an unconquerable aversion to food, arising partly from sickness, and partly, to use the language of the slave captains, from sulkiness. These causes naturally produced the flux. The contagion spread ; several were carried off daily ; and the disorder, aided by so many powerful auxiliaries, resisted the power of medicine. And it was worth while to remark, that these grievous sufferings were not owing either to want of care on the part of the owners, or to any negligence or harshness of the captain ; for Mr. Wilson declared, that his ship was as well fitted out, and the crew and slaves as well treated, as any body could reasonably expect.

“ He would now go to another ship. That, in which Mr. Claxton sailed as a surgeon, afforded a repetition of all the horrid circumstances which had been described. Suicide was attempted, and effected ; and the same barbarous expedients were adopted to compel the slaves to continue an existence, which they considered as too painful to be endured. The mortality also was as great. And yet here again the captain was in no wise to blame. But this vessel had sailed since the regulating act. Nay, even in the last year the deaths on ship board would be found to be between ten and eleven per cent. on the whole number exported. In truth, the house could not reach the cause of this mortality by all their regulations. Until they could cure a broken heart, until they could legislate for the affections, and bind by their statutes the passions and feelings of the mind, their labour would be in vain.

“ Such were the evils of the passage. But evils were conspicuous every where, in this trade. Never was there indeed a system so replete with wickedness and cruelty. To whatever part of it we turned our eyes, whether to Africa, the Middle Passage, or the West Indies, we could find no comfort, no satisfaction, no relief. It was the gracious ordinance of Providence, both in the natural and moral world, that good should often arise out of evil. Hurricanes cleared the air ; and the propagation of truth was promoted by persecution. Pride, vanity, and profusion contributed often, in their remoter consequences, to the happiness of mankind. In common, what was itself evil and vicious was permitted to carry along with it some circumstances of palliation. The Arab was hospitable ; the robber brave. We did not necessarily find cruelty associated with fraud, or meanness with injustice. But here the case was far otherwise. It was the prerogative of this detestable traffic to separate from evil its concomitant good, and to reconcile discordant mischiefs. It robbed war of its generosity ; it deprived peace of its security : we saw in it the vices of polished society, without its knowledge or its comforts ; and the evils of barbarism without its simplicity. No age, no sex, no rank, no condition, was exempt from the fatal influence of this wide-wasting calamity. Thus it attained to the fullest measure of pure, unmixed, unsophisticated wickedness ; and, scorning all competition and comparison, it stood without a rival in the secure, undisputed possession of its detestable pre-eminence.”

“ Smith, who was sent out by the royal African company in 1726, assures us, ‘ that the discerning natives account it their greatest unhappiness, that they were ever visited by the Europeans. They say that we Chrsitians introduced the traffic of slaves ; and that before our coming they lived in peace. But, say they, wherever Christianity comes, there come swords, and guns, and powder, and ball, along with it.’ pp. 282—293.

### PITT.

MR. PITT rose, and said, that “ from the first hour of his having had the honour to sit in parliament down to

the present, among all the questions, whether political or personal, in which it had been his fortune to take a share, there had never been one in which his heart was so deeply interested as in the present; both on account of the serious principles involved, and the consequences connected with it.

“The present was not a mere question of feeling. The argument, which ought in his opinion to determine the committee, was, that the slave-trade was unjust. It was therefore such a trade as it was impossible for him to support, unless it could be first proved to him, that there were no laws of morality binding upon nations; and that it was not the duty of a legislature to restrain its subjects from invading the happiness of other countries, and from violating the fundamental principles of justice.” p. 248.

### BURKE.

MR. BURKE said, “Nothing makes a slave, but a degraded man. In proportion as the mind grows callous to its degradation, and all sense of manly pride is lost, the slave feels comfort. In fact, he is no longer a man. If he were to define a man, he would say with Shakspeare,

‘Man is a being, holding large discourse,  
‘Looking before and after.’

But a slave was incapable of looking before and after. He had no motive to do it. He was a mere passive instrument in the hands of others, to be used at their discretion. Though living, he was dead as to all voluntary agency. Though moving amidst the creation with an erect form, and with the shape and semblance of a human being, he was a nullity as a man.

“He said, the slave trade was directly contrary to the principles of Humanity and justice, and that the state of slavery, which followed it, however mitigated, was a state so improper, so degrading, and so ruinous to the feelings and capacities of human nature, that it ought not to be suffered to exist.” p. 66.

## MARTIN.

MR. JAMES MARTIN said, "He had been long aware, how much self-interest could pervert the judgment; but he was not apprised of the full power of it, till the slave-trade became a subject of discussion.—For he never could believe that any man, under the influence of moral principles, could suffer himself knowingly to carry on a trade, replete with fraud, cruelty, and destruction; with destruction, indeed, of the worst kind, because it subjected the sufferers to a lingering death.—It was well observed in the petition from the University of Cambridge against the slave-trade, 'that a firm belief in the Providence of a benevolent Creator assured them that no system, founded on the oppressions of one part of mankind, could be beneficial to another.' He felt much concern, that in an assembly of the representatives of a country, boasting itself zealous not only for the preservation of its own liberties, but for the general rights of mankind, it should be necessary to say a single word upon such a subject; but the deceitfulness of the human heart was such, as to change the appearances of truth, when it stood in opposition to self-interest. He had to lament that even among those, whose public duty it was to cling to the universal and eternal principles of truth, justice, and humanity, there were found some, who could defend that which was unjust, fraudulent, and cruel.

"The doctrines he had heard that evening, ought to have been reserved for times the most flagrantly profigate and abandoned. He never expected then to learn, that the everlasting laws of righteousness were to give way to imaginary, political, and commercial expediency; and that thousands of our fellow creature were to be reduced to wretchedness, that individuals might enjoy opulence.—Dissenters of various denominations, but particularly the Quakers (who to their immortal honour had taken the lead in it) had vied with those of the established church in this amiable contest.—In short, there had never been more unanimity in the country, than in this righteous attempt.

"With such support, and with so good a cause, it would

be impossible to fail. Let but every man stand forth, who had at any time boasted himself as an Englishman, and success would follow. But if he were to be unhappily mistaken as to the result, we must give up the name of Englishmen. Indeed, if we retained it, we should be the greatest hypocrites in the world; for we boasted of nothing more than of our own liberty; we manifested the warmest indignation at the smallest personal insult; we professed liberal sentiments towards other nations: but to do these things, and continue such a traffic, would be to deserve the hateful character before mentioned. While we could hardly bear the sight of any thing resembling slavery, even as a punishment among ourselves, how could we consistently entail an eternal slavery upon others?

"For his part, he should never believe those persons to be sincere, who were loud in their professions of love of liberty, if he saw that love confined to the narrow circle of one community, which ought to be extended to the natural rights of every inhabitant of the globe." pp. 308—212.

### SMITH.

Mr. WILLIAM SMITH rose. "He wondered how the last speaker could have had the boldness to draw arguments from scripture in support of the slave-trade.

"Such arguments could be intended only to impose on those, who never took the trouble of thinking for themselves. Could it be thought for a moment, that the good sense of the house could be misled by a few perverted or misapplied passages, in direct opposition to the whole tenor and spirit of Christianity; to the theory, he might say, of almost every religion, which had ever appeared in the world? Whatever might have been advanced, every body must feel, that the slave-trade could not exist one hour, if that excellent maxim, 'to do to others as we should wish that others should do to us,' had its proper influence on the conduct of men.

"Nor was Mr. Stanley more happy in his argument of the antiquity and universality of slavery.

"Because a practice had existed, did it necessarily follow that it was just? By this argument every crime might be defended from the time of Cain. \* \* \* \* \*

"That the slaves were exposed to great misery in the islands was true, as well from inference as from facts: for what might not be expected from the use of arbitrary power, where the three characters of party, judge, and executioner were united! The slaves too were more capable on account of their passions, than the beasts of the field, of exciting the passions of their tyrants.

"To what a length the ill treatment of them might be carried, might be learnt from the instance which Gen. Tottenham mentioned to have seen in the year 1780 in the streets of Bridge Town, Barbadoes:

"A youth about nineteen, (to use his own words in the evidence,) entirely naked, with an iron collar about his neck, having five long projecting spikes. His body both before and behind was covered with wounds. His belly and thighs were almost cut to pieces, with running ulcers all over them; and a finger might have been laid in some of the weals. He could not sit down, because his hinder part was mortified; and it was impossible for him to lie down, on account of the prongs of his collar.' He supplicated the general for relief.

"The latter asked, who had punished him so dreadfully? The youth answered, his master had done it. And because he could not work, this same master, in the same spirit of perversion, which extorts from scripture a justification of the slave-trade, had fulfilled the apostolic maxim, that he should have nothing to eat. The use he meant to make of this instance was to shew the unprotected state of the slaves. What must it be, where such an instance could pass, not only unpunished, but almost unregarded! If, in the streets of London, but a dog were to be seen lacerated like this miserable man, how would the cruelty of the wretch be execrated, who had thus even abused a brute!

"The judicial punishments also inflicted upon the Negro showed the low estimation, in which, in consequence of the strength of old customs and deep-rooted prejudices, they were held.

"Mr. Edwards, in his speech to the assembly at Jamaica, stated the following case, as one which had happened in one of the rebellions there. Some slaves surrounded

the dwelling-house of their mistress. She was in bed with a lovely infant. They deliberated upon the means of putting her to death in torment. But in the end one of them reserved her for his mistress ; and they killed her infant with an axe before her face.

“Now,” says Mr. Edwards, addressing himself to his audience, “you will think that no torments were too great for such horrible excesses. Nevertheless I am of a different opinion. I think that death unaccompanied with cruelty, should be the utmost exertion of human authority over our unhappy fellow-creatures.” Torments, however, were always inflicted in these cases.

“The punishment was gibbeting alive, and exposing the delinquents to perish by the gradual effects of hunger, thirst, and a parching sun ; in which situation they were known to suffer for nine days, with a fortitude scarcely credible, never uttering a single groan.

“But horrible as the excesses might have been, which occasioned these punishments, it must be remembered, that they were committed by ignorant savages, who had been dragged from all they held most dear ; whose patience had been exhausted by a cruel and loathsome confinement during their transportation ; and whose resentment had been wound up to the highest pitch of fury by the lash of the driver.

“But he would now mention another instance, by way of contrast, out of the evidence. A child on board a slave ship, of about ten months old, took sulk and would not eat. The captain flogged it with a cat ; swearing he would make it eat, or kill it. From this and other ill treatment the child’s legs swelled. He ordered some water to be made hot to abate the swelling. But even his tender mercies were cruel ; for the cook, on putting his hand into the water, said it was too hot. Upon this the captain swore at him, and ordered the feet to be put in. This was done. The nails and skin came off. Oiled cloths were then put round them. The child was at length tied to a heavy log. Two or three days afterwards, the captain caught it up again ; and repeated that he would make it eat or kill it. He immediately flogged it

again, and in a quarter of an hour it died. But, after the child was dead, whom should the barbarian select to throw it overboard, but the wretched mother? In vain she started from the office. He beat her, till he made her take up the child and carry it to the side of the vessel. She then dropped it into the sea, turning her head the other way that she might not see it.

"Now it would naturally be asked, was not this captain also gibbeted alive? Alas! although the execrable barbarity of the European exceeded that of the Africans beforementioned, almost as much as his opportunities of instruction had been greater than theirs, no notice whatever was taken of this horrible action; and a thousand similar cruelties had been committed in this abominable trade with equal impunity—but he would say no more." pp. 224—239.

### COURTENAY.

MR. COURTENAY rose, and observed, that "The trade, it had been said, was conducted upon the principles of humanity. Yes: we rescued the Africans from what we were pleased to call their wretched situation in their own country, and then we took credit for our humanity; because, after having killed one half of them in the seasoning, we substituted what we were pleased to call a better treatment than that which they would have experienced at home.

"It had been said by Mr. Stanley, that the pulpit had been used as an instrument of attack on the slave-trade. He was happy to learn it had been so well employed; and he hoped the bishops would rise up in the house of lords, with the virtuous indignation which became them, to abolish a traffic so contrary to humanity, justice, and religion." pp. 239, 240, 241.

### FOX.

MR. FOX observed, that "some expressions, which he had used on the preceding day, had been complained of as too harsh and severe. He had since considered them; but he could not prevail upon himself to retract them; because, if any gentleman, after reading the evidence on the

table, and attending to the debate, could avow himself an abettor in this shameful traffic in human flesh, it could only be from some hardness of heart, or some difficulty of understanding, which he really knew not how to account for.”\*

“ Some had considered this question as a question of political, whereas it was a question of personal freedom. Political freedom was undoubtedly a great blessing; but, when it came to be compared with personal, it sunk to nothing. To confound the two served therefore to render all arguments on either perplexing and unintelligible. Personal freedom was the first right of every human being. It was a right, of which he who deprived a fellow creature was absolutely criminal in so depriving him, and which he who withheld was no less criminal in withholding. He could not therefore retract his words with respect to any, who (whatever respect he might otherwise have for them) should, by their vote of that night, deprive their fellow creatures of so great a blessing. Nay, he would go further. He would say that if the house, knowing what the trade was by the evidence, did not by their vote mark to all mankind their abhorrence of a practice so savage, so enormous, so repugnant to all laws, human and divine, they would consign their characters to eternal infamy.” pp. 254—5.

“ Against this trade innumerable were the charges. An honourable member, Mr. Smith, had done well to introduce those tragical stories which had made such an im-

\* The expression of Mr. Fox in a former debate, “ That the slave-trade could not be regulated, because there could be no regulation of robbery and murder,” was brought up, and construed by planters in the house as a charge of these crimes upon themselves. Mr. Fox, however, would not retract the expression. “ He repeated it. He had no notion, however, that any individual would have taken it to himself. If it contained any reflection at all, it was on the whole parliament, who had sanctioned such a trade.”

“ He would not believe that there could be found in the House of Commons men of such hard hearts and inaccessible understandings, as to vote an assent to its continuance, and then go home to their families, satisfied with their vote, after they had been once more made acquainted with the subject.”

pression upon the house. No one of these had been yet controverted. It had indeed been said, that the cruelty of the African captain to the child was too bad to be true, and we had been desired to look at the cross-examination of the witness, as if we should find traces of the falsehood of his testimony there.

" But his cross examination was peculiarly honourable to his character ; for after he had been pressed in the closest manner by some able members of the house, the only inconsistency they could fix upon him was, whether the fact had happened on the same day of the month of the year 1764 or the year 1765." p. 256.

" But what was our motive in the case before us ? To continue a trade which was a wholesale sacrifice of a whole order and race of our fellow creatures ; which carried them away by force from their native country, in order to subject them to the mere will and caprice, the tyranny and oppression, of other human beings, for their whole natural lives, them and their posterity forever !! O most monstrous wickedness ! O unparalleled barbarity ! And, what was more aggravating, this most complicated scene of robbery and murder, which mankind had ever witnessed, had been honoured by the name of....trade." p. 257.

" With respect to the situation of the slaves in their transportation, he knew not how to give the house a more correct idea of the horrors of it, than by referring them to the printed section of the slave-ship ; where the eye must see what the tongue must fall short in describing. On this dismal part of the subject he would not dwell. He would only observe, that the acts of barbarity, related of the slave-captains in these voyages, were so extravagant, that they had been attributed in some instances to insanity. But was not this the insanity of arbitrary power ? Who ever read the facts recorded of Nero, without suspecting he was mad ? Who would not be apt to impute insanity to Caligula, or Domitian, or Caracalla, or Commodus, or Heliogabalus ? Here were six Roman emperors, not connected in blood, nor by descent, who, each of them possessing arbitrary power, had been so distinguished

for cruelty, that nothing short of insanity could be imputed to them.

" Was not the insanity of the masters of slave-ships to be accounted for on the same principles. Of the slaves in the West Indies it had been said that they were taken from a worse state to a better. An honourable member, Mr. W. Smith, had quoted some instances out of the evidence to the contrary. He also would quote one or two others. A slave under hard usage had run away. To prevent a repetition of the offence the owner sent for a surgeon, and desired him to cut off the man's leg. The surgeon refused. The owner, to render it a matter of duty in the surgeon, broke it. ' Now,' says he, ' you must cut it off, or the man will die.' We might console ourselves perhaps, that this happened in a French island; but he would select another instance, which had happened in one of our own. Mr. Ross heard the shrieks of a female issuing from an out-house; and so piercing, that he determined to see what was going on. On looking in he perceived a young female tied up by her wrists to a beam, entirely naked; and in the act of involuntary writhing and swinging; while the author of her torture was standing below her with a lighted torch in his hand which he applied to all the parts of her body as it approached him. What crime this miserable woman had perpetrated he knew not; but the human mind could not conceive a crime warranting such a punishment.

" He was glad to see that these tales affected the house. Would they then sanction enormities, the bare recital of which made them shudder? Let them remember that humanity did not consist in a squeamish ear. It did not consist in shrinking and starting at such tales as these; but in a disposition of the heart to remedy the evils they unfolded. Humanity belonged rather to the mind than to the nerves. But, if so, it should prompt men to charitable exertion.

" One argument had been used, which for a subject so grave was the most ridiculous he had ever heard. Mr. Alderman Watson had declared the slave-trade to be necessary on account of its connexion with our fisheries. But what was this but an acknowledgment of the man-

ner, in which these miserable beings were treated? The trade was to be kept up, with all its enormities, in order that there might be persons to consume the refuse fish from Newfoundland, which was too bad for any body else to eat.

" It had been said that England ought not to abolish the slave-trade, unless other nations would also give it up. But what kind of morality was this? The trade was defensible upon no other principle than that of a highwayman. Mere gain was not a motive for a great country to rest on, as a justification of any measure. Honour was its superiour; and justice was superiour to honour.

" With respect to the intellect and sensibility of the Africans, it was pride only, which suggested a difference between them and ourselves. There was a remarkable instance to the point in the evidence, and which he would quote. In one of the slave-ships was a person of consequence; a man, once high in a military station, and with a mind not insensible to the eminence of his rank. He had been taken captive and sold; and was then in the hold, confined promiscuously with the rest. Happening in the night to fall asleep, he dreamed that he was in his own country; high in honour and command; caressed by his family and friends; waited on by his domestics; and surrounded with all his former comforts in life. But waking suddenly, and finding where he was, he was heard to burst into the loudest groans and lamentations on the miserable contrast of his present state; mixed with the meanest of his subjects; and subjected to the insolence of wretches a thousand times lower than himself in every kind of endowment. He appealed to the house, whether this was not as moving a picture of the miserable effects of the slave-trade, as could be well imagined. There was one way, by which they might judge of it. Let them make the case their own. This was the Christian rule of judging; and, having mentioned Christianity, he was sorry to find that any should suppose, that it had given countenance to such a system of oppression. So far was this from being the case, that he thought it one of the most splendid triumphs of this religion, that it had caused slavery to be so generally abolished on its appearance in the

world. It had done this by teaching us, among other beautiful precepts, that, in the sight of their Maker, all mankind were equal. Its influence appeared to have been more powerful in this respect than that of all the ancient systems of philosophy ; though even in these, in point of theory, we might trace great liberality and consideration for human rights. Where could be found finer sentiments of liberty than in Demosthenes and Cicero ? Where bolder assertions of the rights of mankind, than in Tacitus and Thucydides ? But, alas ! these were the holders of slaves ! It was not so with those who had been converted to Christianity. He knew, however, that what he had been ascribing to Christianity had been imputed by others to the advances which philosophy had made. Each of the two parties took the merit to itself. The philosopher gave it to philosophy, and the divine to religion. He should not then dispute with either of them ; but as both coveted the praise, why should they not emulate each other by promoting this improvement in the condition of the human race ?

"He would now conclude by declaring that the whole country, indeed the whole civilized world, must rejoice that such a bill as the present had been moved for, not merely as a matter of humanity, but as an act of justice ; for he would put humanity out of the case. Could it be called humanity to forbear from committing murder ? Exactly upon this ground did the present motion stand ; being strictly a question of national justice. He thanked Mr. Wilberforce for having pledged himself so strongly to pursue his object till it was accomplished ; and, as for himself, he declared, that, in whatever situation he might ever be, he would use his warmest efforts for the promotion of this righteous cause." pp. 260—265.

### FRANCIS.

Mr. FRANCIS said, "Having himself an interest in the West Indies, he thought that what he should submit to the house would have the double effect of evidence and argument ; and he stated most unequivocally his opinion, that the abolition of the slave-trade would tend materially to the benefit of the West Indies.—Many had affirmed

that the slave-trade was politic and expedient; but i was worthy of remark, that no man had ventured to deny that it was criminal. Criminal, however, he declared it to be in the highest degree; and he believed it was equally impolitic. Both its inexpediency and injustice had been established by the honourable mover.

“ He instanced an overseer, who, having thrown a Negro into a copper of boiling cane-juice for a trifling offence, was punished merely by the loss of his place, and by being obliged to pay the value of the slave. He stated another instance of a girl of fourteen, who was dreadfully whipped for coming too late to her work. She fell down motionless after it; and was then dragged along the ground, by the legs, to an hospital; where she died. This was a notorious fact. It was published in the Jamaica Gazette: and it has even happened since the question of the abolition had been started.

“ The only argument used against such cruelties was the master’s interest in the slave. But he urged the common cruelty to horses, in which the drivers had an equal interest with the drivers of men in the colonies, as a proof that this was no security. He had never heard an instance of a master being punished for the murder of his slave. The propagation of the slaves was so far from being encouraged, that it was purposely checked, because it was thought more profitable and less troublesome to buy a full-grown Negro, than to rear a child. He repeated that his interest might have inclined him to the other side of the question; but he did not choose to compromise between his interest and his duty; for, if he abandoned his duty, he should not be happy in this world; nor should he deserve happiness in the next.” p. 2:4—216.

### DR. HORSLEY.

“ DR. HORSLEY, adverted to what had fallen from the learned council, who had supported the petitions of the slave-merchants. One of them had put this question to their lordships, ‘ If the slave-trade were as wicked as it had been represented, why was there no prohibition of it in the holy scriptures?’ He then entered into a full defence

of the scriptures on this ground, which he concluded by declaring that, as St. Paul had coupled men-stealers with murderers, he had condemned the slave-trade in one of its most productive modes, and generally in all its modes : and here it was worthy of remark, that the word used by the apostle on this occasion, and which had been translated men-stealers, should have been rendered slave-traders. This was obvious from the scholiast of Aristophanes, whom he quoted. It was clear, therefore, that the slave-trade, if murder was forbidden, had been literally forbidden also.

"The learned council too had admonished their lordships, to beware how they adopted the visionary projects of fanatics. He did not know in what direction this shaft was shot ; and he cared not. It did not concern him. With the highest reverence for the religion of the land, with the firmest conviction of its truth, and with the deepest sense of the importance of its doctrines, he was proudly conscious, that the general shape and fashion of his life bore nothing of the stamp of fanaticism. - But he begged leave, in his turn, to address a word of serious exhortation to their lordships. He exhorted them to beware, how they were persuaded to bury, under the opprobrious name of fanaticism, the regard which they owed to the great duties of mercy and justice, for the neglect of which, (if they should neglect them,) they would be answerable at that tribunal, where no prevarication of witnesses could misinform the judge ; and where no subtlety of an advocate, miscalling the names of things, putting evil for good and good for evil, could mislead his judgment." pp. 582-3.

### HUDDLESTONE.

"MR. HUDDLESTONE could not help lifting his voice against this monstrous traffic in the sinews and blood of man, the toleration of which had long been the disgrace of the British legislature. He did not charge the enormous guilt resulting from it upon the nation at large ; for the nation had washed its hands of it by the numerous petitions it had sent against it ; and it had since been a mat-

ter of astonishment to all Christendom, how the constitutional guardians of British freedom should have sanctioned elsewhere the greatest system of cruelty and oppression in the world.

" He said that a curse attended this trade even in the mode of defending it. By a certain fatality, none but the vilest arguments were brought forward, which corrupted the very persons, who used them. Every one of these were built on the narrow ground of interest ; of pecuniary profit ; of sordid gain ; in opposition to every higher consideration ; to every motive that had reference to humanity, justice, and religion ; or to that great principle, which comprehended them all. Place only before the most determined advocate of this odious traffic, the exact image of himself in the garb and harness of a slave, dragged and whipped about like a beast ; place this image also before him, and paint it as that of one without a ray of hope to cheer him ; and you would extort from him the reluctant confession, that he would not endure for an hour the misery, to which he condemned his fellow-man for life.

" How dared he then to use this selfish plea of interest against the voice of the generous sympathies of his nature ? But even upon this narrow ground, the advocates for the traffic had been defeated. If the unhallowed argument of expediency was worth any thing when opposed to moral rectitude, or if it were to supersede the precepts of Christianity, where was a man to stop, or what line was he to draw ? For any thing he knew it might be physically true, that human blood was the best manure for the land ; but who ought to shed it on that account ? True expediency, however, was, where it ever would be found, on the side of that system, which was most merciful and just.

" The condition of the Negroes in the West Indies had been lately compared with that of the Hindoos. But no barbarous sounds of cracking whips reminded him, that with the form and image of a man, his destiny was that of a beast of the field. Let the advocates for the bloody traffic state what they had to set off on their side of the

question against the comforts and independence of the man, with whom they compared the slave.” pp. 392—5.

### WHITBREAD.

MR. WHITBREAD said, “No eloquence could persuade him, that the Africans were torn from their country and their dearest connexions, merely that they might lead a happier life; or that they could be placed under the uncontrolled dominion of others without suffering. Arbitrary power would spoil the hearts of the best. Hence would arise tyranny on the one side, and a sense of injury on the other. Hence the passions would be let loose, and a state of perpetual enmity would follow.

“He needed only to go to the accounts of those who defended the system of slavery, to show that it was cruel. He was forcibly struck last year by an expression of an honourable member, an advocate for the trade, who, when he came to speak of the slaves, on selling off the stock of a plantation, said, that they fetched less than the common price, because they were damaged! Damaged! What! were they goods and chattels? What an idea was this to hold out to our fellow creatures! We might imagine how slaves were treated, if they could be spoken of in such a manner. Perhaps these unhappy people had lingered out the best part of their lives in the service of their master. Able then to do but little, they were sold for little! and the remaining substance of their sinews was to be pressed out by another, yet more hardened than the former, and who had made a calculation of their vitals accordingly.” pp. 312—314.

### ERSKINE.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (Erskine) said, “From information which he could not dispute, he was warranted in saying, that on this continent [Africa] husbands were fraudulently and forcibly severed from their wives, and parents from their children; and that all the ties of blood and affection were torn up by the roots. He had himself seen the unhappy natives put together in heaps in the hold of a ship, where, with every possible attention to

them, their situation must have been intolerable. He had also heard proved in courts of justice, facts still more dreadful than those which he had seen. One of these he would just mention. The slaves on board a certain ship rose in a mass to liberate themselves; and having far advanced in the pursuit of their object, it became necessary to repel them by force. Some of them yielded; some of them were killed in the scuffle; but many of them actually jumped into the sea and were drowned; thus preferring death to the misery of their situation; while others hung to the ship, repenting of their rashness, and bewailing with frightful noises their horrid fate. Thus the whole vessel exhibited but one hideous scene of wretchedness. They, who were subdued, and secured in chains, were seized with the flux, which carried many of them off. These things were proved in a trial before a British jury, which had to consider, whether this was a loss, which fell within the policy of insurance, the slaves being regarded as if they had been only a cargo of dead matter. He could mention other instances, but they were much too shocking to be described. Surely their lordships could never consider such a traffic to be consistent with humanity or justice. It was impossible." pp. 429, 430.

### CARYSFORT.

LORD CARYSFORT rose, and said, "that the great cause of abolition had flourished by the manner in which it had been opposed. No one argument of solid weight has been adduced against it. It had been shown, but never disproved, that the colonial laws were inadequate to the protection of the slaves; that the punishments of the latter were most unmerciful; that they were deprived of the right of self-defence against any white man, and, in short, that the system was totally repugnant to the principles of the British constitution." p. 241.

### WINDHAM.

"MR. WINDHAM deprecated not only the slave-trade, but slavery also. They were essentially connected with

each other. They were both evils, and ought both of them to be done away. Indeed, if emancipation would follow the abolition, he should like the latter measure the better. Rapine, robbery, and murder were the true characteristics of this traffic. The same epithets had not indeed been applied to slavery, because this was a condition, in which some part of the human race had been at every period of the history of the world. It was, however, a state, which ought not to be allowed to exist." p. 415.

### GRENVILLE.

LORD GRENVILLE then read a resolution of the commons. "This resolution, he said, stated first, that the slave-trade was contrary to humanity, justice, and sound policy. That it was contrary to humanity was obvious; for humanity might be said to be sympathy for the distresses of others, or a desire to accomplish benevolent ends by good means. But did not the slave-trade convey ideas the very reverse of the definition? It deprived men of all those comforts, in which it pleased the Creator to make the happiness of his creatures to consist, of the blessings of society, of the charities of the dear relationships of husband, wife, father, son, and kindred; of the due discharge of the relative duties of these, and of that freedom, which in its pure and natural sense, was one of the greatest gifts of God to man.

"It was impossible to read the evidence, as it related to this trade, without acknowledging the inhumanity of it and our own disgrace.

"Another way of keeping up the slave-trade was by the practice of man-stealing. The evidence was particularly clear upon this head. This practice included violence, and often bloodshed. The inhumanity of it therefore could not be doubted.

"The unhappy victims, being thus procured, were conveyed, he said, across the Atlantic in a manner which justified the charge of inhumanity again. Indeed the suffering here was so great, that neither the mind could conceive nor the tongue describe it. He had said on a former occasion, that in their transportation there was a greater portion of

misery condensed within a smaller space, than had ever existed in the known world. He would repeat his words, for he did not know, how he could express himself better on the subject. And, after all these horrors, what was their destiny? It was such, as justified the charge in the resolution again: for, after having survived the sickness arising from the passage, they were doomed to interminable slavery.

"He intreated their lordships, to endeavour to conceive the hard case of the unhappy victims of it; and as he had led them to the last stage of their miserable existence, which was in the colonies, to contemplate it there. They were there under the arbitrary will of a cruel task-master from morning till night. When they went to rest, would not their dreams be frightful? When they awoke, would they not awake,

..... "only to discover sights of woe,  
Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace  
And rest can never dwell, hope never comes  
That comes to all; but torture without end  
Still urges?" .....

"They knew no change, except in the humour of their masters, to whom their whole destiny was entrusted. We might, perhaps flatter ourselves with saying, that they were subject to the will of Englishmen. But Englishmen were not better than others, when in possession of arbitrary power. The very fairest exercise of it was a never-failing corrupter of the heart. But suppose it were allowed, that self-interest might operate some little against cruelty; yet where was the interest of the overseer or the driver? But he knew it would be said, that the evils complained of in the colonies had been mitigated. There might be instances of this; but they could never be cured, while slavery existed. Slavery took away more than half of the human character. Hence the practice, where it existed, of rejecting the testimony of the slave: but, if his testimony was rejected, where could be his redress against his oppressor?

"Having shown the inhumanity, he would proceed to the second point in the resolution, or the injustice, of the

trade. We had two ideas of justice; first, as it belonged to society by virtue of a social compact; and secondly, as it belonged to men, not as citizens of a community, but as beings of one common nature. In a state of nature, man had a right to the fruit of his own labour absolutely to himself; and one of the main purposes, for which he entered into society, was, that he might be better protected in the possession of his rights. In both cases therefore it was manifestly unjust, that a man should be made to labour during the whole of his life, and yet have no benefit from his labour. Hence the slave-trade and the colonial slavery were a violation of the very principle, upon which all law for the protection of property, was founded. Whatever benefit was derived from that trade to an individual, it was derived from dishonour and dishonesty. He forced from the unhappy victim of it that, which the latter did not wish to give him; and he gave to the same victim that, which he in vain attempted to show, was an equivalent to the thing he took, it being a thing for which there was no equivalent; and which, if he had not obtained by force, he would not have possessed at all. Nor could there be any answer to this reasoning, unless it could be proved, that it had pleased God to give to the inhabitants of Britain, a property in the liberty and life of the natives of Africa. But he would go no further on this subject. The injustice complained of was not confined to the bare circumstance of robbing them of the right to their own labour. It was conspicuous throughout the system. They, who bought them, became guilty of all the crimes which had been committed in procuring them; and, when they possessed them, of all the crimes which belonged to their inhuman treatment. The injustice in the latter case amounted frequently to murder. For what was it but murder to pursue a practice, which produced untimely death to thousands of innocent and helpless beings? It was a duty which their lordships owed to their Creator, if they hoped for mercy, to do away this monstrous oppression.” pp. 416—421.

*Epilogue to the Padlock, in which Mungo appeared as a black servant.—Mungo enters, and thus addresses the audience :*

“ THANK you, my Massas ! have you laugh your fill ?  
Then let me speak, nor take that freedom ill.

E'en from *my* tongue some heart-felt truths may fall,  
And outrag'd nature claims the care of all.

My tale in *any* place would force a tear,  
But calls for stronger, deeper feelings here ;  
For whilst I tread the boasted freemen's land,\*  
Whilst now before me crowded freemen stand,  
Vain, vain that glorious privilege to me,  
I am a slave, where all things else are free.

“ Yet was I born, as you are, no man's slave,  
An heir to all that lib'ral nature gave ;  
My mind can reason, and my limbs can move  
The same as yours ; like yours my heart can love,  
Alike my body food and sleep sustain ;  
And e'en like yours feels pleasure, want, and pain.  
One sun rolls o'er us, common skies surround ;  
One globe supports us, and one grave must bound.

“ Why then am I devoid of all to live  
That manly comforts to a man can give ?  
To live ... untaught religion's soothing balm,  
Or life's choice arts ; to live... unknown the calm  
Of soft domestic ease ; those sweets of life,  
The duteous offspring, and th' endearing wife ?  
To live . to property and rights unknown,  
Not e'en the common benefits my own !  
No arm to guard me from oppression's rod,  
My will subservient to a tyrant's nod !  
No gentle hand, when life is in decay,  
To sooth my pains, and charm my cares away ;  
But helpless left to quit the horrid stage,  
Harass'd in youth ; and desolate in age !

“ But I was born in Afric's tawny strand,  
And you in fair Columbia's fairer land.  
Comes freedom, then, from colour ? ... blush with shame !  
And let strong nature's crimson mark your blame.  
I speak to freemen. Freemen, then, behold  
A man by freemen *snar'd*, and *seiz'd*, and *sold* !  
And yet no freemen's statute damns the deed,  
Nor do the more than murd'rous villains bleed.

\* The compiler has taken the liberty, by changing a few words, to accommodate this beautiful little poem to the American Republick.

" O sons of freedom ! equalize your laws,  
 Be all consistent, plead the Negro's cause ;  
 That all the nations in your code may see  
 Columbia's Negro, like Columbia, free.  
 But shall he supplicate your laws in vain,  
 To break, forever, this disgraceful chain,  
 That he may share kind heaven's all social plan ?  
 Though no Columbian, Mungo is .... a man."

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*From the charming pen of Cowper.*

“ THE NEGRO'S COMPLAINT.”

“ Forc'd from home and all its pleasures,  
 Afric's coast I left forlorn,  
 To increase a stranger's treasures,  
 O'er the raging billows borne ;  
 Men from England bought and sold me,  
 Paid my price in paltry gold ;  
 But, though slave they have enroll'd me,  
 Minds are never to be sold.

“ Still in thought as free as ever,  
 What are England's rights I ask,  
 Me from my delights to sever,  
 Me to torture, me to task ?  
 Fleecy locks and black complexion  
 Cannot forfeit nature's claim ;  
 Skins may differ, but affection  
 Dwells in white and black the same.

“ Why did all creating Nature  
 Make the plant for which we toil ?  
 Sighs must fan it, tears must water,  
 Sweat of ours must dress the soil.  
 Think, ye masters, iron-hearted,  
 Lolling at your jovial boards,  
 Think how many backs have smarted  
 For the sweets your cane affords.

“ Is there, as ye sometimes tell us,  
 Is there one, who reigns on high ;  
 Has he bid you buy and sell us,  
 Speaking from his throne the sky ?  
 Ask him, if your knotted scourges,  
 Fetter, blood-extorting screws,

Are the means, which duty urges  
Agents of his will to use?

"Hark! he answers. Wild tornadoes,  
Strewing yonder sea with wrecks,  
Wasting towns, plantations, meadows,  
Are the voice with which he speaks.  
He, foreseeing what vexations  
Afric's sons should undergo,  
Fix'd their tyrants' habitations  
Where his whirlwinds answer... No.

"By our blood in Afric wasted  
Ere our necks received the chain;  
By the mis'ries, which we tasted  
Crossing in your barks, the main;  
By our suff'rings, since ye brought us  
To the man-degrading mart,  
All sustain'd by patience, taught us  
Only by a broken heart.

"Deem our nation brutes no longer,  
Till some reason ye shall find  
Worthier of regard, and stronger,  
Than the colour of our kind.  
Slaves of gold! whose sordid dealings  
Tarnish all your boasted powers,  
Prove that you have human feelings,  
Ere you proudly question ours."

## PART II.

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### BRISSOT.

**MONSIEUR BRISSOT**, in relating his travels in the United States in 1788, says: "In New Jersey,—the western parts of the State are disposed to free their Negroes: but the eastern parts are opposed to it.

"It is probable, that their obstinacy will be overcome; at least it is the opinion of the respectable Mr. Livingston, celebrated for the part he has acted in the late revolution: he has declared this opinion in a letter written to the Society at Philadelphia.\* He has himself freed all his slaves, which are very numerous.

"The Quakers have been more fortunate in Pennsylvania.—In 1780, at their request, seconded by a great number of persons from other sects, the General Assembly abolished slavery forever, forced the owners of slaves to cause them to be registered, declared their children free at the age of twenty-eight years, placed them, while under that age, on a footing of hired servants, assured to them the benefit of trial by jury, &c. But this act did not provide against all the abuses that avarice could afterwards invent. It was evaded in many points.—Some barbarous masters sold their blacks, to be carried into foreign countries; others sent the Negro children into neighbouring States, that they might there be sold, and deprived of the benefit of the law of Pennsylvania, when they should come of age; others sent their pregnant women into another State, that the offspring might be slaves; and others stole free Negroes, and carried them to the islands for sale. The society, shocked at these abuses, applied again to the

\* A Society for the abolition of slavery.

Assembly, who passed a new act in March last, effectually to prevent them. It ordained, that no black could be sent into a neighbouring state, without his consent; condemned to the publick works the stealers of Negroes, &c.

"Doubtless we cannot bestow too much praise on the indefatigable zeal of the Society in Pennsylvania, which solicited these laws, nor on the spirit of equity and humanity displayed by the legislature in passing them; but some regret must mingle itself with our applause. Why did it not extend, at least the hopes of freedom, to those who were slaves at the time of the passing the first act? They are a property, it is said; and all property is sacred. But what is a property founded on robbery and plunder? What is a property which violates laws, human and divine? But let this property merit some regard. Why not limit it to a certain number of years, in order to give at least the cheap consolation of hope? Why not grant to the slave, the right of purchasing his freedom? What! the child of the Negro slave shall one day enjoy his liberty; and the unhappy father, though ready to leap with joy on beholding the fortune of his son, must roll back his eyes with aggravated anguish, on his own irrevocable bondage! The son has never felt, like him, the torture of being torn from his country, from his family, from all that is dear to man; the son has not experienced that severity of treatment so common in this country before this revolution of sentiment; yet the son is favoured, and the father consigned to despair. But the injustice cannot long sully the laws of a country where reason and humanity prevail. We may hope that a capitulation will be made with avarice, by which these slaves shall be drawn from its hands.

"Again—Why, in the act of March, 1780, is it declared that a slave cannot be a witness against a free man. You either suppose him less true than the free man, or you suppose him differently organised. The last supposition is absurd; the other, if true, is against yourselves; for, why are they less conscientious, more corrupted and more wicked?—It is because they are slaves. The crime falls on the head of the master; and the

slave is thus degraded and punished for the vice of the master.

" Finally, why do you ordain that the master should be reimbursed from the public treasury, the price of the slave who may suffer death for crimes ? If, as is easy to prove, the crimes of slaves are almost universally the fruit of their slavery, and are in proportion to the severity of their treatment, is it not absurd to recompense the master for his tyranny ? When we recollect that these masters have hitherto been accustomed to consider their slaves as a species of cattle, and that the laws make the master responsible for the damages done by his cattle, does it not appear contradictory to reverse the law relative to these black-cattle, when they do a mischief, for which society thinks it necessary to extirpate them ? In this case, the real author of the crime, instead of paying damages, receives a reward.

" The little state of Delaware has followed the example of Pennsylvania. It is mostly peopled by Quakers ; instances of giving freedom are therefore numerous. In this state, famous for the wisdom of its laws, for its good faith and federal patriotism, resides that angel of peace, Warner Mifflin. Like Benezet, he occupies his time in extending the opinions of his society relative to the freedom of the blacks and the care of providing for their existence and their instruction. It is in part to his zeal that is owing the formation of a society in that state, after the model of the one at Philadelphia, for the abolition of slavery.

" With the state of Delaware finishes the system of protection to the blacks. Yet there are some Negroes freed in Maryland, because there are some Quakers there ; and you perceive it very readily, on comparing the fields of tobacco or of Indian corn, belonging to these people with those of others ; you see how much superior the hand of a freeman is to that of a slave, in the operations of industry.

" When you run over Maryland and Virginia, you conceive yourself in a different world ; and you are convinced of it, when you converse with the inhabitants.

" They speak not here of projects for freeing the Ne

groes ; they praise not the societies of London and America ; they read not the works of Clarkson—No ; the indolent masters behold with uneasiness the efforts that are making to render freedom universal.

“ The strongest objection lies in the character, the manners, and habits of the Virginians. They seem to enjoy the sweat of slaves. They are fond of hunting ; they love the display of luxury, and disdain the idea of labour. This order of things will change when slavery shall be no more. It is not, that the work of a slave is more profitable than that of a freeman ; but it is in multiplying the slaves, condemning them to a miserable nourishment, in depriving them of clothes, and in running over a large quantity of land with a negligent culture, that they supply the necessity of honest industry.

“ In the south, the blacks are in a state of abjection difficult to describe ; many of them are naked, ill fed, lodged in miserable huts, on straw.—They receive no education, no instruction in any kind of religion ; they are not married, but coupled ; thus they are brutalized.—Every thing in Maryland and Virginia wears the print of slavery ; a starved soil, bad cultivation, houses falling to ruin, cattle small and few, and black walking skeletons ; in a word, you see real misery, and apparent luxury, insulting each other.

‘ *God has created men of all nations, of all languages, of all colours, equally free : Slavery, in all its forms, in all its degrees, is a violation of the divine laws ;\* and a degradation of human nature.*’

\* If slavery is “ a violation of the divine laws ;” is it not absurd to talk about a gradual emancipation ? We might as well talk of gradually leaving off piracy—murder—adultery, or drunkenness. Might not Pharaoh with as much propriety have told Moses about a gradual emancipation of *his* slaves ; and asserted, that they were unfit for freedom ; that none but a mad-man could think of setting at liberty a million of such contemptible wretches, before they were duly enlightened, and prepared for liberty ; and have demanded how it was possible for them to subsist any other way than by robbery ?

But Moses would have been ready with an answer—that they were going into the wilderness ;—that it was but just and rea-

The society of Philadelphia say, in their address to the public, "The wretch who has long been treated as a beast of burthen, is often degraded so far as to appear of a species inferior to that of other men ; the chains which bind his body, curb likewise his intellectual faculties, and enfeeble the social affections of his heart."

In speaking of a certain American writer, he says, "He uniformly employed the language of invective. This is the weapon that the partizans of slavery always use in America, in England, and in France."

After having mentioned a scheme for colonising the free-blacks on the coast of Africa, he adds : "By this civilization, Europe would open a vast market to her manufactures, and obtain, at a cheap rate, and without the effusion of blood, those productions, which cost her at the islands so much money and so many crimes. God grant that this idea may soon be realized."\*

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*From "The Christian Disciple," No. 20.*

—“CEASING to import Africans affords but little relief to the multitude, who are still held in bondage, under our free government. If we have done going to Africa for Negroes, still the ‘slave trade’ is continued in another form, and our fellow beings are bought and sold like cattle, in the southern States ; and many of them, are abus-

sonable that they be furnished, as a remuneration for their hard services, with “jewels of silver, and jewels of gold :” but, if these were denied, at least they should insist on being supplied with provisions, and every necessary for beginning the world.

If the Israelites were more enlightened while under the Egyptians, than are the present American slaves, to what cause can it be assigned ? Had they better masters ?

\* Let it be remembered, that the United States have the immense country of Louisiana, the southern part of which is well calculated for a settlement of the Africans, and too hot a country for a white population. Indeed, every advantage anticipated by Europeans from colonising the shores of Africa with free Negroes, would most assuredly be realized by the United States, were they to settle them in South Louisiana.

ed and driven about, in a manner more cruel, than it would be lawful to treat the vilest of the brute creation. We may therefore reasonably expect, that 'the shrieks and groans' of these slaves will be continually ascending to the righteous Goverour of the world, calling for vengeance on the oppressors.

" It will probably be pleaded, that those who keep no slaves have no concern in this guilt. But is this the fact? Do not those who keep no slaves protect the slave-holders in their oppression? What would be the fate of these domineering lords, if those who have no slaves should *avowedly withdraw their protection*, and leave the masters and the slaves to settle this one question; *Whose turn is it to serve in future?* Do not the slave-holders depend on being protected in their merciless tyranny by the national government? If this be the fact, how is it possible that the nation, as such, should be clear from the charge or the guilt of holding in slavery more than a million of human beings? Suppose that in the district of Massachusetts fifty masters were protected by the state government in holding in slavery three thousand Negroes; would not the whole State be involved in the guilt? Verily they would. On the same principle every state in the union partakes in the guilt of the southern slave-holders.

" We are aware that the subject is attended with very serious difficulties, on account of the great number of slaves. But do the difficulties diminish by delay? Are not the number of slaves annually increasing? And do not the difficulties increase in the same proportion? Is it resolved by the nation that negro slavery shall be perpetual in this land of liberty? Shall those who have their eyes open, with respect to the magnitude of the evil, hold their peace, and do nothing to purge themselves and their country from this dreadful guilt, until a righteous God shall repeat in our land the horrors of St. Domingo? With what equity may the sovereign Disposer of events strip the white inhabitants of these states of those privileges, which as a nation they deny to a million of fellow beings, who are as worthy of freedom as their masters!

" If a small number of our white people happen to be

subjected to bondage in the African states, or pressed on board foreign ships of war, how soon is the *cry of injustice* spread through the land ! Yet how many can tamely and silently behold a greater number of blacks subjected to the most degrading slavery, than the whole amount of population in Massachusetts ! Will not God be avenged on such a nation as this ? Had we no other national guilt, this, if persisted in, would be enough to sink us into the deepest gulf of national wretchedness.

" If any of our readers shall think that this subject is too frivolous for the Christian Disciple ; be entreated to consider what would be your views and feelings, should *you* be doomed to spend your days in slavery, and to have your children, from generation to generation, in the same deplorable state. What would you then think of the heart that could not feel for you, or the tongue that would not plead your cause ? "

### THE ABBE RAYNAL.

THE Abbé Raynal, in his observations on slavery, says : " Will it be said that he, who wants to make me a slave, does me no injury, but that he only makes use of his rights ? Where are those rights ? Who hath stamped upon them so sacred a character as to silence mine ?

" He, who supports the system of slavery, is the enemy of the whole human race. He divides it into two societies of legal assassins ; the oppressors, and the oppressed. It is the same thing as proclaiming to the world, if you would preserve your life, instantly take away mine, for I want to have yours.

" But the Negroes, they say, are a race born for slavery ; their dispositions are narrow, trecherous, and wicked ; they themselves allow the superiority of our understandings, and almost acknowledge the justice of our authority. Yes ; the minds of the Negroes are contracted, because slavery destroys all the springs of the soul. They are wicked, but not equally so with you. They are treacherous, because they are under no obligation to speak truth to their tyrants. They acknowledge the superiority

of our understandings, because we have abused their ignorance. They allow the justice of our authority, because we have abused their weakness.

“ I shall not be afraid to cite to the tribunal of reason and justice those governments, which tolerate this cruelty, or which even are not ashamed to make it the basis of their power.”

### DAVID BARROW.

Mr. DAVID BARROW, a minister of religion in the state of Kentucky, in a pamphlet he published some years since, says : “ To see a man (a Christian) in the most serious period of all his life—making his last will and testament—and in the most solemn manner addressing the Judge of all the earth—*In the name of God, Amen*—Hearken to him—he certainly must be in earnest!—He is closing all his concerns here below!—He will very shortly appear before the Judge, where kings and slaves have equal thrones ! He proceeds :

“ *Item.* I give and bequeath to my son —, a Negro man named —, also a Negro woman named —, with five her of youngest children.

“ *Item.* I give and bequeath to my daughter —, a Negro man, named —, also a Negro woman, named —, with her three children.

“ *Item.* All my other slaves, whether men, women, or children, with all my stock of horses, cattle, sheep, and hogs, I direct to be sold to the highest bidder, and the monies arising therefrom, (after paying my just debts) to be equally divided between my two above-named children!!!

“ The above specimen is not exaggerated ; the like of it often turns up. And what can a real lover of the rights of man say in vindication thereof ?

“ Suppose for a moment, that the testator, or if the owner dies intestate, (which is often the case,) was ever so humane a person, who can vouch for their heirs and successors? This consideration, if nothing else, ought to make all slave-holders take heed what they do, for they must give an account of themselves to God.”

DR. PRIMATT.

In his "Dissertation on the duty of mercy, and on the sin of cruelty to brute-animals," he takes occasion to advert to the subject of the African slave-trade. "It has pleased God," says he, "to cover some men with white skins, and others with black; but as there is neither merit nor demerit in complexion, the white man, notwithstanding the barbarity of custom and prejudice, can have no right by virtue of his colour to enslave and tyranize over the black man. For whether a man be white or black, such he is by God's appointment, and, abstractedly considered, is neither a subject for pride, nor an object of contempt."

*Extracts from a speech delivered in the convention held at DANVILLE, KENTUCKY, for forming a state constitution:*

BY THE REV. DAVID RICE.

"Sir, I have lived free, and in many respects happy, for near sixty years; but my happiness has been greatly diminished, for much of the time, by hearing a great part of the human species groaning under the galling yoke of bondage. In this time I lost a venerable father, a tender mother, two affectionate sisters, and a beloved first born son; but all these together have not cost me half the anxiety as has been occasioned by this wretched situation of my fellow-men, whom, without a blush, I call my brethren.

"A slave claims his freedom; he pleads that he is a man, that he was by nature free, that he has not forfeited his freedom, nor relinquished it. Now unless his master can prove that he is not a man, that he was not born free, or that he has forfeited or relinquished his freedom, he must be judged free; the justice of his claim must be acknowledged. His being long deprived of this right, by force or fraud, does not annihilate it; it remains; it is still his right. When I rob a man of his property, I leave him his liberty, and a capacity of acquiring and possessing

more property ; but when I deprive him of his liberty, I also deprive him of his capacity ; therefore I do him greater injury, when I deprive him of his liberty, than when I rob him of his property. It is in vain for me to plead that I have the sanction of law ; for this makes the injury the greater, it arms the community against him, and makes his case desperate.

" We only want a law enacted, that no owner of a brute, nor other person, should kill or dismember it, and then in law the case of a slave and a brute is in most respects parallel ; and where they differ, the state of a brute is to be preferred. The brute may steal or rob, to supply his hunger ; the law does not condemn him to die for his offence, it only permits his death ; but the slave, though in the most starving condition, dare not do either, on penalty of death, or some severe punishment.

" That a slave is made after the image of God, no Christian will deny ; that a slave is absolutely subjected to be debauched by men, is so apparent from the nature of slavery that it needs no proof. This is evidently the unhappy case of female slaves ; a number of whom have been remarkable for their chastity and modesty. If their master attempts their chastity, they dare neither resist nor complain. If another man should make the attempt, though resistance may not be so dangerous, complaints are equally vain. They cannot be heard in their own defence ; their testimony cannot be admitted. The injurious person has a right to be heard, may accuse the innocent sufferer of malicious slander, and have her severely chastised.

" The destruction of chastity has a natural tendency to introduce a number of vices, that are very pernicious to the interests of a Commonwealth : and slavery much conduces to destroy chastity, as it puts so great a number of females entirely in the power of the other sex ; against whom they dare not complain, on peril of the lash ; and many of whom they dare not resist. This vice, this bane of society, has already become so common, that it is scarcely esteemed a disgrace, in the one sex, and that the one that is generally the most criminal. Let it become as little disgraceful in the other, and there is an end to domestic tranquillity—an end to the public prosperity.

"It is evident that the laws of nature, or the laws of man are wrong; and which, none will be at a loss to judge. The divine law says, 'whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder;' the law of man says, to the master of the slave, 'though the divine law has joined them together, you may put them asunder when you please.'

"Masters designedly keep their slaves in ignorance, lest they should become too knowing to answer their selfish purposes; and too wise to rest easy in their degraded situation. In this case, the law operates so as to answer an end directly opposed to the proper end of all law. It is pointed against every thing dear to them; against the principal end of their existence. It supports, in a land of religious liberty, the severest persecutions; and may operate so as totally to rob multitudes of their religious privileges, and the rights of conscience.

"The master may, and often does, inflict upon the slaves, all the severity of punishment the human body is capable of bearing; and the law supports him in it: if he does but spare his life and his limbs, he dare not complain; none can hear and relieve him; he has no redress under heaven.—Are we rulers? How can the people confide in us, after we have thus openly declared that we are void of truth and sincerity: and that we are capable of enslaving mankind in direct contradiction to our own principles? What confidence in legislators, who are capable of declaring their constituents all free men in one breath; and in the next, enacting them all slaves? In one breath, declaring that they have a right to acquire and possess property; and, in the next, that they shall neither acquire nor possess it during their existence here? Can I trust my life, my liberty, my property, in such hands as these? Will the colour of my skin prove a sufficient defence against their injustice and cruelty? Will the particular circumstance of my ancestors being born in Europe and not in Africa, defend me? Will strait hair defend me from the blow that falls so heavy on the woolly head?

"Slavery naturally tends to destroy all sense of justice and equity. It puffs up the mind with pride; teaches youth a habit of looking down upon their fellow creatures

with contempt, esteeming them as dogs or devils, and imagining themselves beings of superior dignity and importance, to whom all are indebted. This banishes the idea, and unqualifies the mind for the practice of common justice. If I have, all my days, been accustomed to live at the expense of a black man, without making him any compensation, or considering myself at all in his debt, I cannot think it any great crime to live at the expense of a white man. If I rob a black man without guilt, I shall contract no great guilt by robbing a white man. If I have been long accustomed to think a black man was made for me, I may easily take it into my head to think so of a white man. If I have no sense of obligation to do justice to a black man, I can have little to do justice to a white man.

" You say, a law of emancipation would be unjust, because it would deprive men of their property; but is there no injustice on the other side? Is nobody entitled to justice but slave-holders? Let us consider the injustice on both sides; and weigh them in an even balance. On the one hand, we see a man deprived of all property, of all capacity to possess property, of his own free agency, of the means of instruction; of his wife, of his children, of almost every thing dear to him; on the other, a man deprived of eighty or an hundred pounds. Shall we hesitate a moment to determine, who is the greatest sufferer, and who is treated with the greatest injustice? The matter appears quite glaring, when we consider, that neither this man nor his parents had sinned, that he was born to these sufferings: but the other suffers altogether for his own sin and that of his predecessors. Such a law would only take away property, that is its own property, and not ours: property that has the same right to possess us, as its property, as we have to possess it: property that has the same right to convert our children into dogs, and calves and colts—that may transfer our children to strangers, by the same right that we transfer theirs.

" No man, when he views the hardships, the sufferings, the excessive labours, the unreasonable chastisements, the separations between loving husbands and wives, between

affectionate parents and children, can say, were I in their place, I should be contented; I so far approve this usage, as to believe the law that subjects me to it, to be perfectly right: that I and my posterity should be denied the protection of law, and by it be exposed to suffer all these calamities; though I never forfeited my freedom nor merited such treatment more than others. No; there is an honest *something* in our breasts, that bears testimony against this, as unreasonable and wicked.

"Here we should consider on whom these evils are to be charged; and we shall find they lie at our own doors, they are chargeable on us. We have brought one generation into this wretched state; and shall we therefore doom all the generations of their posterity to it. Do we find by experience that this state of slavery corrupts and ruins human nature? And shall we persist in corrupting and ruining it in order to avoid the natural evils we have already produced? Do we find, as the ancient poet said, that the day we deprive a man of freedom, we take away half his soul? And shall we continue to maim souls, because a maimed soul is unfit for society? Strange reasoning indeed! An astonishing consequence! Therefore I give it as my opinion, that the first thing to be done is TO RESOLVE UNCONDITIONALLY TO PUT AN END TO SLAVERY IN THIS STATE. This, I conceive, properly belongs to the convention; which they can easily effect, by working the principle into the constitution they are to frame."

### FOSTER,

in his Discourses on Natural Religion and Social Virtue, calls slavery "a criminal and outrageous violation of the natural rights of mankind.—We take," says he, "the most effectual method to prevent the propagation of the gospel, by representing it as a scheme of power and barbarous oppression, and an enemy to the natural privileges and rights of man; a practice, which, in my opinion, bids that God, who is the God and Father of the Gentiles unconverted to Christianity, most daring and bold defiance, and spurns at the principles both of natural and revealed religion."

RICHARD SAVAGE,  
having personified Public Spirit, makes her speak on the  
subject in the following manner :

" Let by my specious name no tyrants rise,  
And cry, while they enslave, they civilize !  
Know, liberty and I are still the same,  
Congenial ... ever mingling flame with flame !  
Why must I Afric's sable children see  
Vended for slaves, though born by nature free,  
The nameless tortures cruel minds invent  
Those to subject whom nature equal meant ?  
If these you dare (although unjust success  
Empow'rs you now unpunish'd to oppress)  
Revolving empire you and yours may doom ...  
(Rome all subdu'd ... yet vandals vanquish'd Rome)  
Yes ... Empire may revolt ... give them the day,  
And yoke may yoke, and blood may blood repay."

### MONTESQUIEU

says, " Slavery is not good in itself. It is neither useful to the master nor to the slave. Not to the slave, because he can do nothing from virtuous motives. Not to the master, because he contracts among his slaves all sorts of bad habits, and accustoms himself to the neglect of all the moral virtues. He becomes haughty, passionate, obdurate, vindictive, voluptuous, and cruel.—It is impossible to allow that Negroes are men ; because, if we allow them to be men, it will begin to be believed that we ourselves are not Christians."

### JOHN MELLISH,

in the second volume of his very interesting Travels in the United States in 1811, relates the following affecting occurrence which took place while he was on the banks of the Ohio river.

" As we stood upon the beech at this place," says he, " a large skiff drew towards the shore, in which the proprietor had four Negro children, the oldest about fourteen, the youngest about four years of age. He told us that he had left his home in Maryland, with the children, and their father and mother, in order to carry them down the river to a market. Finding that he could dispose of the

man by the way to advantage, he had sold him. The night after, the woman (whom he reproached as an unnatural wretch for leaving her children) had run away, and he was obliged to go on with the children without her! The three youngest had not reflection enough to feel their loss ; they jumped out of the boat and played upon the sand : they were pretty children ! But the eldest sat in the boat, the emblem of heart-rending despair ! I do not know that in the whole course of my life, I ever had my feelings so severely tried. I hid my face with my hands, that those accustomed to such scenes might not perceive my weakness !!!\*

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*Extracts from a very interesting pamphlet.*

BY JARVIS BREWSTER.

*Printed at New Brunswick, in the state of New York, in 1815, entitled, "An exposition of the treatment of SLAVES in the southern states, particularly in the states of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia."*

—“ OH, America ! what more could have been done for thee than has been done. Surely propitious Heaven has, with a liberal hand, granted all thy requests. What more could have been asked for at the commencement of the American revolution ? Our Independence has been established on a solid basis ; a system of government formed which extorts admiration from a surrounding world ; a continent producing all the rich variety of nature ; civil and religious liberty protected ;—but sad to relate that notwithstanding all these manifestations of the divine goodness, we do permit in the bosom of our country, a system

\*\* A compliment this, which might have been acceptable to a Nero, or a Herod, who slew the innocent children of Bethlehem. And are the compassionate feelings which distinguish a good man from a tiger, or a demon, to be termed “ weakness ? ” God grant that such “ weakness ” may be as extensive as the human family ; that we may bear less resemblance to beasts of prey ; and some resemblance to a compassionate Saviour, who wept over Jerusalem, while contemplating the distresses they were bringing on themselves.

of tyranny and persecution more horrible perhaps than was ever practised by a Nero, or a Robespierre.

" Notwithstanding all our well founded claims to civilization, hospitality, and the general principles of humanity, the sanctity of our laws are openly and daringly violated. - The murderer, the wilful and deliberate murderer, with his hands blood-stained, is permitted in the face of open day, in pomp, to parade the streets without even an inquiry into his conduct. The innocent are driven by cruel persecution to seek an asylum in the inhospitable swamps, accessible only to those driven by sad despair; and inhabited only by vermin and beasts of prey, where solitary gloom pervades the whole. Sad indeed must the situation of that man be, that would lead him to prefer such a retreat; exposed to the chilling blasts of winter—the perpetual damps peculiar to these horrible swamps—the gnawings of hunger, disease and death—no friendly hand to beat up his pillow, or administer the medical draught. Awful as this situation is, it is a solemn and undeniable truth, that hundreds are at this time lingering out a miserable life in this way—even here in America, in the very bosom of our country, our happy country, and land of liberty, which is said to be an asylum for the oppressed of every nation. These unhappy exiles, when driven by necessity to seek food in the neighbouring woods, when discovered, are by the orders of the great, the rich, who are possessed of wealth, talents, and a refined education, shot with as little hesitation, or sensations of regret, as they would shoot a mad dog. In order to elucidate these facts more fully, I will give a short summary of information collected during a hasty tour through the states of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. At this time no idea was entertained of laying any thing before the public; of course what was collected was merely accidental.

" It is well known that the rich planters in the southern States hold in their possession vast numbers of slaves; these are placed under men hired for the express purpose of dealing out their provisions and keeping them at their work. Their allowance of provision is one peck of corn

in the grain per week,\* which they must get cracked or ground as they can ; no time being allowed in the week, the sabbath must be employed for this purpose, and the night in cooking it. No dainties deck their humble-board, the hoe-cake forms their breakfast and their supper, dinner being out of the question, as the custom of many is to start at the dawn of day, and pursue their labour until eleven o'clock. Whilst the mules are eating, the Negroes eat their breakfast, after which they are again driven to their work, and kept to it until the sable curtains of night shut in the light of the day.—This system of food and labour is by many almost invariably pursued from year to year. That man employed as an overseer who is the most cruel and severe is preferred and can procure the highest wages ; being nurtured from infancy to manhood to exercise the unrestrained effusions of wrath, the smallest offence on the part of the slave is sufficient to procure for him the most brutal and inhuman treatment.

" In passing from Fayetteville to Wilmington in North Carolina, I put up one night with a farmer, whose feelings were more humane than his neighbours', and who was much disgusted with the method of treating slaves in that country. He informed me that the Negroes often stole articles from him, and that he used frequently to remonstrate with them on the subject, telling them if they must steal they ought to take from their masters, and not from their neighbours. Their answers uniformly were, that they must steal or starve, and that they dare not not steal from their masters, for if they did, and were detected, they were sure to suffer every thing but death ; that they stole from such as they thought would not inform against them, if detected ; that if their masters would give them one pound of meat a week, they would never steal from any man. Knowing, as I did, that it was the custom in a great part of the country, to keep their slaves on one peck of corn a week each, without a mouthful of any other kind

\* " Of all the impositions ever practised on any human beings, that of confining them to the scanty allowance of one peck of corn a week, is the most outrageously abominable. The criminal loaded with irons in his dungeon is better served."

of nourishment, this honest confession on the part of the poor Negroes excited emotions in my bosom, not easily described. I thought the request a reasonable one, and could not suppress the ejaculations, Great God ! and is it possible that any of thy intelligent beings, enjoying the common bounties of thy providence, whose store-houses are filled with the products of the labor of these very slaves, to which they deny a mouthful of meat to appease the cravings of hunger ? ‘ Tell it not in Gath ; publish it not in the streets of Askelon.’ Is there a man in America, treading upon its soil, breathing its pure and free air, who has a drop of American blood running in his veins, but that must sicken at the recital of such gross inconsistencies, such palpable violations of the principles we profess, both as individuals and as a nation.

“ In returning to the northward, I put up one night in the southern part of the state of Virginia, at a place called Hick’s Ford, at a respectable tavern. In the course of the evening, a number of the neighbours came in, who in a short time entered into a very interesting conversation, in which all expressed sensations of extreme sorrow and regret at having missed an opportunity, which they said was not likely ever again to be offered. It was allowed by all that some one was to blame, and each wishing to clear himself from censure, endeavoured to place it on the shoulders of the other. I listened in silence a long time, but was not able to ascertain the real subject. I concluded, however, from the run of the discourse, that a wolf or some other dangerous animal had been in the neighbourhood, by which they were alarmed, and had flew to arms for safety, as I found some were armed with muskets, some with swords, and some with pistols.

“ I then took the liberty to ask one of the company if he would be good enough to explain to me the subject of their conversation.—He very honestly and frankly replied, ‘ that a Negro, who was owned in that neighborhood, had been run away from his master nearly a year—that the night before, his master was informed the Negro was in a neighbouring house occupied by blacks—that on receiving this information he mustered a number of the

neighbours, and armed them for the purpose of shooting the Negro—that the anxiety of the master was so great that he could not wait for the rest, and advanced to the house—when within about a rod from the door, the Negro came out, the master levelled his musket, but unfortunately she flushed—the night being dark, and the rest of the company being a little behind, the fellow made his escape.' He then observed, 'that if the company had been a little sooner they would surely have got him, as such an one had an excellent musket, another a pistol, and a third a sword—that if one had missed, the others would have soon done the job for him.' I observed that I thought it would have been more to the master's interest to have taken him alive, as he could have sold, if he did not wish to keep him. He replied, 'that his master was so exasperated with the Negro that he was determined never to take him alive, and that he had kept his gun loaded a long time for the express purpose of shooting him.'—I inquired if the laws of that state would allow a man to murder his slave. He said, 'that the laws of that state were as pointedly against it, as they were in any state, but the damned Negroes were so bad that nobody took notice of it—that it was a common thing to shoot them there—and that one had been found a few days before not far from that place dead in the woods, who had been shot, and it was not common in those cases to make any inquiry—a hole was dug, the Negro thrown in, covered up, and that was an end of it.'

"The company above referred to were men of information, and from appearances, men of respectability. Among their number was a justice of the peace

"It is a solemn and awful fact, denied by none on cool reflection, not even the wretch whose guilty arm is weary with inflicting bloody stripes on those hapless sons of misfortune, that these cruelties merit the deepest abhorrence of all civilized men, and the heaviest curses of Almighty God.

"We find, agreeably to the last census, taken in the year 1810, that in the state of Maryland there were 111,502 slaves; in the state of Virginia, 392,518; in the

state of N. Carolina, 168,824; in the state of S. Carolina, 196,365; and in the state of Georgia, 105,218; making a total of 974,427 slaves. We will allow one fourth of the whole number to be employed as house servants, who are generally fed and clothed well; of the remaining number, 730,821, we will suppose one half are owned by feeling and humane men, who furnish them with food and raiment sufficient,—the remaining number of 365,410 we may calculate are trembling under the most tyrannical and despotic government; kicked, thumped, tied up and cringing under agonizing and bloody tortures, inflicted by petty overseers, without regard to the laws of the country, or the dictates of humanity.

"In casting my eyes over a late New York newspaper, I observed a piece taken from a North Carolina paper, which is as follows:

*Raleigh, N. C. July 4, 1815.*  
*Shocking Murder!*

"On the 4th inst. we understand, a most shocking murder was committed on the body of a SLAVE, who had been detected as a runaway. He was seized in this place, driven before men on horse-back at full speed, a distance of twenty-two miles, suffering the lashes the whole way, and finally on reaching the owner's house, was fastened to a log, beaten in the most savage manner, and an immediate end put to his existence by breaking his neck. The coroner's inquest returned a verdict of wilful murder. In due time a full narrative of the transaction will doubtless appear."

After solemnly addressing the legislatures of those states, he proceeds, "Ye ministers of the everlasting gospel! Ye centinels of the Most High! be your name or denomination what it may, your grand object undoubtedly is, to pull down Satan's kingdom, and advance the interests of the Redeemer. Permit me to solicit your zealous exertions, in stemming this torrent of vice, infidelity, and heaven-daring wickedness; which, if persisted in, must inevitably sink our beloved country beneath a load of ac-

cumulated wrath. You may be powerful instruments in the hands of the Almighty in forcing conviction on the minds of the people, that these liberties which they fondly boast of, but of which they deny their slaves any participation, "*are the gifts of God, and cannot be violated but with his wrath.*"

"Ye magistrates, who have been selected by the constituted authorities of our country and placed as watchmen on our walls, and as judges in our courts, to guard the dignity of our laws, and enforce their precepts—have you kept that watchful eye over the laws of your country, which your duties imperiously demanded? Have you in all cases falling under your knowledge enforced its precepts? In fact, has not the sword of justice, committed to your care, been converted into a sword of tyranny? Has not the culprit brought before you been condemned without a trial, and sentenced to the lashes of his unprincipled persecutor? Have you not been eye-witnesses of those bloody lashes, inflicted in the rage of passion, which are not sanctioned by the laws of our country, nor by the dictates of humanity? Have you not been eye-witnesses; if not, have you not had sufficient information, of certain individuals within your judicial jurisdiction having been guilty of plunging the dagger into the bosom of an innocent man? Have you not passed over scenes like these unnoticed and unregarded? If in the affirmative, the blood of the murdered will be required at your hands; and remember that a day of retribution is near. Charity, however, will lead us to hope that this is not your case.

—"Ye virtuous fair, whose bosoms are formed of milder clay; whose eye-lids have been taught to weep, and whose tender sympathies do not fail to bleed over suffering humanity, permit me to solicit you also to exert that influence, which we know you possess over man, in restraining those boisterous passions which so often lead to acts so repugnant to the feelings of delicacy and decorum.—Consider yourselves for a moment placed in their condition, with all your female delicacies and infirmities, compelled by an unfeeling tyrant to subsist on the scanty allowance of one peck of corn a week, exposed to the

LIBERTY AND GLORY.

scorching heat of an almost vertical sun, your laborious exertions extorted in the field, compelled to use the plough, the spade, and the mattock, as implements of labour; for every trifling deviation from orders you must be tied up, and cringe under the bloody lashes inflicted by a tyrant or his overseer. No court of justice open to hear your complaints, no protecting arm to be found; to plead for mercy is in vain; to escape by flight is impracticable; quiet and peaceable submission is the only alternative. Thus situated, without a glimmering hope of ever being extricated, until the king of terrors shall have executed his commission, and consigned you to the silent mansions of the dead. Would you not sink under a mountain of hopeless and desperate grief? Would you not call on the heavens and the earth and all that is therein, to mourn over your hapless condition—to weep for you as a mother for her first-born?"

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### LIBERTY AND COLUMBIAN GLORY.

Of all the civil blessings heav'n bestows  
On man, to guide him through this world of woes,  
Justice, and peace, and truth, and freedom stand  
The brightest jewels of our favor'd land.  
Let equal liberty to all extend:

Then peace may reign: and bitter strife shall end.

Why should republicans, who lead the van  
In shouting *liberty!* and "*rights of man!*"  
Deprive the blacks of every personal right?  
Enslav'd, contem'd, and brus'd—a odious sight.

We boast of freedom! But poor Afric's sons  
In tears, oppress'd and starv'd, are held in bonds.  
The tyrant whips and vents his boist'rous passion,  
The trembling slaves are scourg'd to meek submission.  
"*Reflecting God is just,*" and hates dissembling,  
Great Jefferson may well resume his trembling.\*

\* To the XVIII Query, in Mr. Jefferson's "*Notes on the State of Virginia,*" he says, "The whole commerce between master and slave, is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of

Ye rulers! Guardians of Columbia's fame!  
 Wipe off this shameful odium from her name.  
 Redeem from bondage Afric's sons, and "pour  
 The wine and oil," their plunder'd rights restore:  
 Bind up their broken hearts—their thanks excite,  
 By giving something less than what is right.  
 In Louisiana's distant, richest soil,  
 Afford them lands, with bread, and leave to toil  
 Beyond the reach of whips and boist'rous strife,  
 With liberty! the sweetest boon of life.  
 Instruct, protect, and bless their infant state.  
 While young, be friends; and allies when they're great.\*

all education in him. From his cradle to his grave he is learning to do what he sees others do. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in a smaller circle of slaves, gives a loose to his worst passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped with odious peculiarities. And with what execration should the statesman be loaded, who, permitting one half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots and these into enemies, destroys the morals of one part, and the *amor patriæ* of the other.

"With the morals of the people, their industry also is destroyed. For in a warm climate, no man will labour for himself who can make another labour for him. This is so true, that of the proprietors of slaves, a very small proportion indeed are ever seen to labour.

"And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure, when we have removed their only basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with his wrath? Indeed I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever; that considering numbers, nature and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest."

\* It is a question, whether it would cost the United States more than the expenses of the late war, if so much, to redeem all the slaves, (by making a moderate, but reasonable compensation to the present slave-holders,) and colonize them in South Louisiana. They might be retained as colonies, under the protection of the United States, for whose advantage their trade, (which would eventually be of vast importance,) might be reserved; or, which

Then shall disgusting hateful tyranny,  
 No more disgrace our land of liberty ;  
 With tears of joy, the Negro's prayers ascend  
 To heaven, for blessings on this happy land.  
 Then shall Columbia's name with praise resound  
 Through distant lands, the spacious earth around.  
 From east to west—from southern pole to north,  
 Behold Columbia's glories beaming forth.  
 Fair seat of justice, righteousness and peace,  
 Propitious heaven approves the great release.

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## CONCLUSION.

THE compiler presumes that whoever has candidly and impartially examined the foregoing facts and arguments, can have no doubt of the injustice, and pernicious tendency of slavery; but must be fully satisfied, that "permitting one half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other," has a natural tendency to "transform these into despots, and these into enemies;" in short, that slavery is, beyond all dispute, *impulitic, antirepublican, unchristian, and highly criminal*.

Whenever the government of the United States shall come to the righteous and consistent determination, that *all the inhabitants shall be free*, it is believed that no insurmountable obstacles will be found in the way of its accomplishment.

Whether it would be just, and equal, and eligible, to take money from the public treasury to redeem African slaves, may possibly become a question for the consideration of Congress. It may not, however, be amiss for the people to inquire, whether it would be more just and equitable to continue to withhold from more than a million of our fellow-beings those essential blessings; without which we ourselves should consider life insupportable.

would be more noble, as Mr. Jefferson has suggested, "Declare them a free and independent people, and extend to them our alliance and protection until they have acquired strength," knowledge, virtue and wisdom, sufficient to take care of themselves.

If it should be pleaded, that the powers of the general government are too limited to ensure the personal, civil, and religious liberties of all; can a doubt be entertained of the readiness of the people, when they fairly understand the subject, to enlarge those powers to any extent necessary for the attainment of an object of such transcendent importance? ... To say, 'they would not,' would be to utter a most shameful libel against a majority of the free-men of the United States.

**FINIS.**

